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Fig. 14.

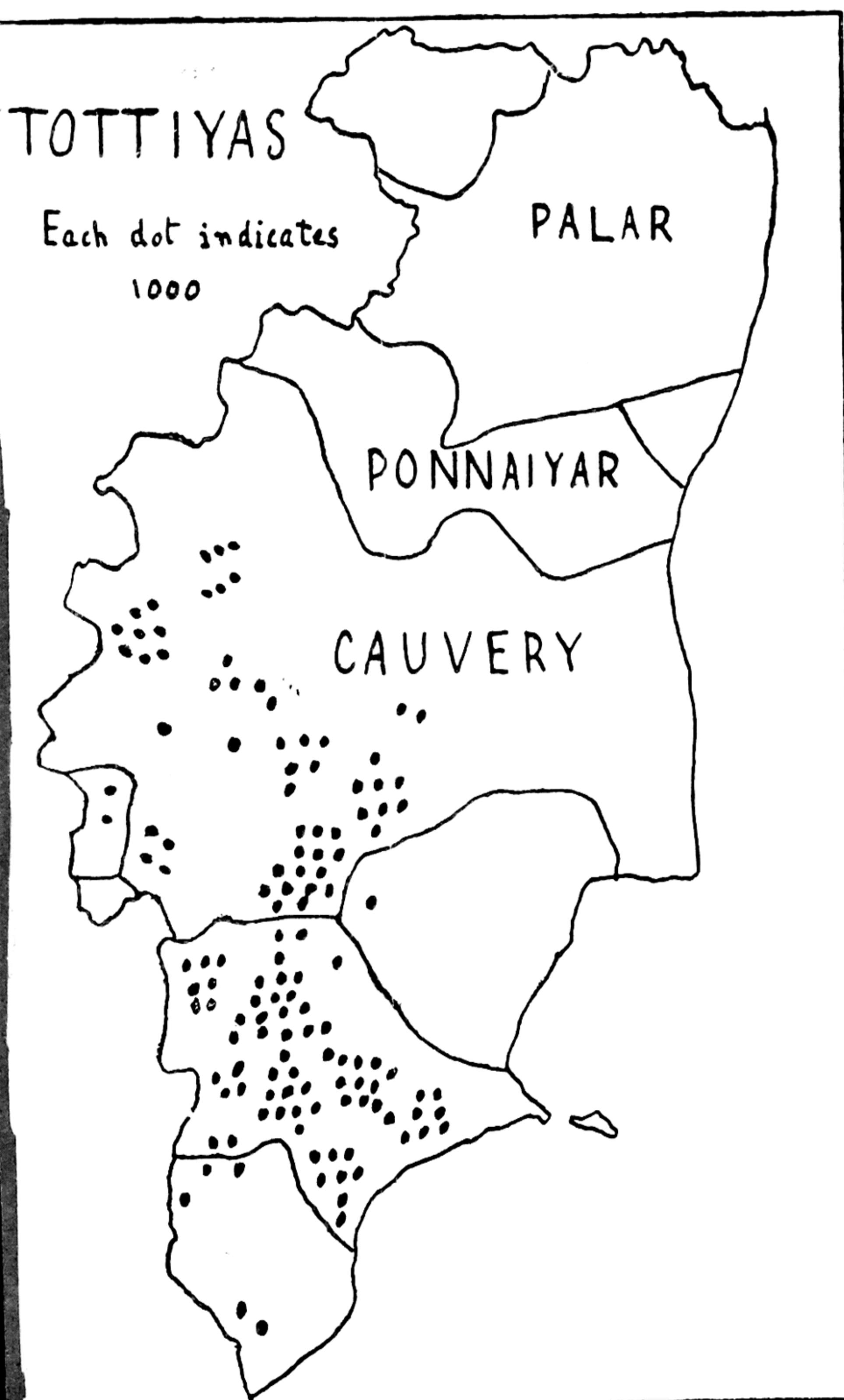
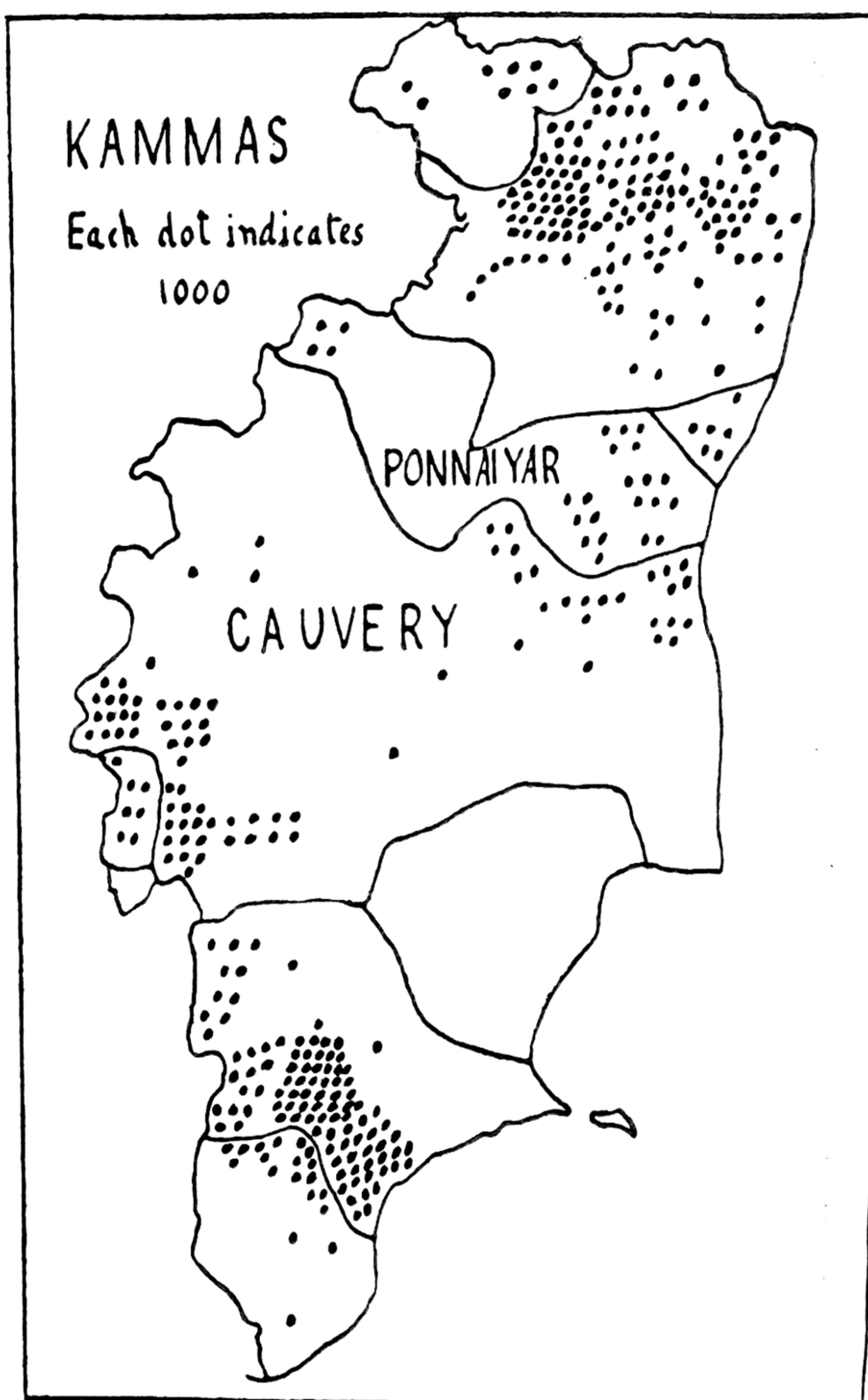


Fig. 15.



RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.
BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)
(Continued from page 218.)

The practicable route between the Bâramahâl and Kongu was the Tôppûr Pass. An alternative route lay through Perumbâlai. The Manjavâdi Ghât road (east of the Shevaroys) is of recent origin. The Mallâpuram Ghât is accessible only by rail.

The Mysore homeland, i.e., the basin of the Upper Kâvêri, in the south-west of Mysore State, is fertile, extensive and self-contained. Also it is a "recessed" area, off the direct line of route from the Northern Deccan to the Tamil country. It is exposed to attack from the north, across the open and lightly populated area which "overlaps" the basins of the Upper Kâvêri and the Tungabhadra with its tributaries. Its natural outlet is southwards, and the rich and populous villages of the Middle Kâvêri invite invasion.

There are thus three lines of approach to the Tamil country across the Deccan—(1) through Cuddapah, (2) through East Mysore, (3) through the Mysore homeland.

(1) The Cuddapah route makes for *Tondamandalam* through the Middle Pâlâr valley. (2) The East Mysore route makes for *Tondamandalam* by way of the Bâramahâl and the Middle Pâlâr valley, or directly into the latter, but it gives access also (but not easy access) to *Chôlamandalam* by way of Cuddalore or Kongu.

(3) The Mysore homeland route leads through Kongu to the Kâvêri Delta or, in the alternative, to the Pândiyân country.

B. HISTORICAL.

This diagnosis is borne out in a remarkable way by historical records and campaigns and by the distribution of certain communities. I note a few below :

(1) The Râshtrakûṭas in the tenth century left records (Fig. 12, Pl. IV) in Bellary and Cuddapah, in North-West Mysore (Shimoga and Chitaldrug) in Sîra and Gubbi tâluks and in Bangalore, along the Middle Pâlâr valley, all over *Tondamandalam* and as far south as Cuddalore. They do not appear in Kongu or the Bâramahâl or the Lower Kâvêri valley.

(2) The Hoysalas in the thirteenth century (Fig. 13, Pl. IV) ruled over most of Mysore, the Bâramahâl, Kongu and the upper Chôla country (they do not appear in the coast tâluks), but in *Tondamandalam* they are only mentioned in Vellore, Conjeeveram and Cheyyâr.

(3) Malik Kâfûr marched direct on the Hoysala capital, Dwâra-samudra (Halebîd), and this route took him to Madura and Râmêswaram.

(4) The Nâyaks of Madura in the seventeenth century directed their campaign against Mysore through Kongu, following the precedent of the Chôlas at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Mysore Odeyars returned the compliment. They were still hovering round Trichinopoly in the days of Clive. Haidar Ali held the Bâramahâl, Kongu and Dindigul till his death ; but his operations in *Tondamandalam* and the Kâvêri Delta and the intervening country were confined to raids.

(5) Sivâji in 1677 starting from Hyderabad, marched on Tanjore through *Tondamandalam*, and returned home through East Mysore.

(6) Cornwallis in 1791 advanced from *Tondamandalam* (the Pâlâr valley) on Bangalore and failed at Seringapatam. Harris in 1799, moving from the Bâramahâl and avoiding Bangalore, marched directly on Seringapatam and took it.

(7) Haidar Ali advanced to the Tungabhadra, much farther northwards than any Odeyars of Mysore. His operations round Chitaldrug, Bellary, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah were defensive (against the Marâthas) on the principle adopted by the Râyas of Vijayanagar when, after Talikôṭa, they fixed their strategic capital at Penukonḍa.

C. ETHNOGRAPHICAL.

(1) The Telugu and Kanarese Tôttiya chieftains (Fig. 14, Pl. V) are settled (a) in western Kongu, (b) in Karûr, Musiri and Kulittalai tâluks of Trichinopoly, (c) in all the western tâluks of Madura, Râmnâd and Tinnevelly as far south as Koilpatti, but never got east of

Trichinopoly or into the Kallar country, or the country of the Great and Little Maravars, except its south-western fringe.

(2) The Telugu Kammas (Fig. 15, Pl. V) cluster densely in (a) north-west *Tondamandalam*, (b) western Kongu, (c) the two western taluks of Madura (Palni and Periyakulam), the two western taluks of Rāmnâd (especially Sâttûr) and the two northern taluks of Tinnevelly (especially Koilpatti). Along the coast they are lightly scattered from Madras to Chidambaram and do not appear in the Kâvîri Delta.

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but the subject deserves a monograph of its own. The main fact is that, for geographical reasons, the Kallar country, the greater part of Rāmnâd, and eastern Madura and south Tinnevelly are exceptionally resistent to aggression.

V. Application.

That Geography has an intimate bearing on questions of History, Race and Language in S. India I hope I have made plain. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely ; in fact, there are few, if any, features in the religious, social, artistic or material culture of India which would not repay detailed topographical scrutiny.

Research on these lines is no mere academic exercise ; it brings to light factors which no statesman can afford to ignore.

Peninsular India is the home of five great nations, Marâthâ, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayâlî. Nations they are, in every sense of the word, although their present somewhat fortuitous distribution between British Presidencies and Indian States obscures the fact. Each of these nations has a history and culture of its own, a national language and literature, special cults and customs, a distinctive social, economic and religious organization. (Cf. Herodotus, 8, 144.)

Of these five nations, four preserve Dravidian speech. With the Telugu and Kanarese peoples this essay is not directly concerned. Between them and the Tamils lies the Poligar Belt. Time and again this barrier has been crossed, by Tamils as well as by Telugus and Kanarese, as soldiers and also as settlers ; yet none of these nations has succeeded in imposing its culture, or even its rule for any length of time, on its neighbour beyond this geographical borderland.

This ebb and flow is vital. The drift of races may invigorate or it may destroy. Thanks to the Poligar Belt, the Tamils have never been swamped by mass migration ; but they have never been cut off from the main stream of Indian life.

Kerala is different. The Western Ghâts are a stiffer obstacle than the Poligar Belt. Neither the Kanarese in the north nor the Tamils in the south have advanced very far. Yet Kerala is no stagnant backwater ; its people are as alert and vigorous as any in India, perhaps more so. They have elaborated a civilization astonishingly unlike any other in India ; a noteworthy testimony to its charm and vitality is the readiness with which settlers of other nations adapt themselves to the Malayâlî way of life.

Yet the Malayâlîs, like the Tamils, have had an ample share in the cultural life of India ; like them, too, they have given as generously as they have received ; and their gifts are of their own mintage, not mere copies of alien types. Few teachers, for instance, have had a deeper or wider influence in India than Šrî Sankarâchârya of Kerala or Šrî Râmânujâchârya the Tamil. Most of what is best in North Indian Hinduism to-day owes its inspiration to them.

Cultural unity is not dependent on political unity ; nor does cultural diversity necessarily involve hostility. Dravidians appreciate the value of toleration and compromise. For nearly three centuries the Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations stood united under the leadership of Vijayanagar in the fight with the Deccan Sultanates ; for half that period the five nations have given of their best for the good government of South India, British and Indian alike. But national sentiment is still a living force, and although their political boundaries may fluctuate, their cultural boundaries are founded on rock. They are willing to co-operate, but not to be submerged. Their local loyalties, the most stable factor in South Indian History, deserve respect ; it would be wrong to suggest that they no longer exist.

DRAVIDIC MISCELLANY.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. DRAVIDIAN BASE *væ* (*ve*, *va*).

ONE of the oldest of Dravidian bases *væ*¹ (along with its variants) is preserved in the South in a recognizable state : Tamil *veṅgōlan* (tyrant), *venduppu* (hot anger), *veyyil* (sunshine), *vayyu* (to abuse), *vayi* (pain), *vēnal* (heat, summer), etc.

Kannada : *bayi* (pain), *bay* (to abuse), *bayisu* (to desire), *bedaku* (to desire), *bede* (heat), *bevi* (to perspire), *bisi* (heat), *bisu* (sun), etc. Kann. *d-* in *bedaku*, *bede*, goes back to original medial glide *y* : *y* > *y* > *j* > *dj* > *d* ; for which cf. *tudi* (end) and Tam. *tuyi*.² Kann. *s* in *bisi* and *bisu* is also from original *y* : *y* > *y* > *s* > *s*.

The semantic developments are obvious. 'Heat' is associated with strong feeling (pain, joy, desire or anger) by a process of metecsemey, and a number of forms expressive of these ideas have arisen.

The base in its primary state is also evident in Kurukh *basnā* (to boil), *bi'ina* (to cook) ; Tulu *bē* (to boil), *baya* (to heat) ; in Brâhûî *bâsing* (to become hot), *bising* (to heat), *bâsun* (hot) ; in Kûî *vâja* (to cook), etc. ; in Gôndî *vê* (to cook), etc.

Medial *-s-* in the Brâhûî and the Kurukh forms and *-j-* of the Kûî form go back here probably to a medial glide *y*.³

The alternance of *v* and *b* observable in many of the above instances is quite characteristic of certain Dravidian dialects (Kannada, Kurukh, Brâhûî).

Formative affixes were added to the base at a very early stage in Dravidian and numerous new bases were produced. Some of the most active, ancient formative affixes were *-r* (-*r*), *-g*, *-l* and *-l*.

The activity of the ancient affixes *-r* (probably connected with *ir*, 'to remain,' etc.) and *r* in ancient Dravidian was phenomenal ; *væ+r*, *r* or *d* produced a crop of forms with varied meanings and connotations.

One set has given us forms meaning 'ardent admiration,' 'detestation,' 'fear,' etc. :— Tamil *veruppu* (detestation, hatred), *veru* (admiration), *verukkai* (glory),⁴ *veru* (fear). *vēdi*,

¹ Striking similarities exist between this Dravidian base and a large number of forms in Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian and Australian. Prof. Rivet has given a list of these latter in his recent thesis *Sumérien et Océanien*. It is remarkable that three different Dravidian bases for 'fire,' 'heat,' etc., are analogical in form and meaning to three groups of forms adduced by him as occurring in Oceanic and Sumerian. These three Dravidian groups are the following :—

- (1) *tu*, *ti*—group.
- (2) *ve*, *væ*—group.
- (3) *káy*, *ki*—group.

It will be interesting to investigate why forms for 'fire,' 'heat' should be so remarkably alike basically in these different language-families.

² This change of *y* to *d* through *j* appears to have cropped up in Tamil itself (cf. the instances I have given on page 149, *IHQ*, March 1929). The change is quite common in Tulu (*vide* the same article). Kannada medial *-s-* represents in many instances Tamil medial *-y-*.

³ *-s-* does appear to be the development of *y* in this and the following Brâhûî instances :—

khisun (red).

tusing (to faint)—cf. southern *tuy*.

nusing (to grind corn)—cf. sn. *noy*, *nuy* (bits, pieces).

In the following Brâhûî instances, however, *s* stands for an older *t* represented in other dialects :—

pûskun (new)—cf. *pud-*, *pucc-* of the South.

assut (was) where the past affix *-t-* has changed into *-s-*.

musit (three)—cf. *mû(n)dru*, *mûdu* of the South.

husing (to burn)—cf. *sûd* of the South.

⁴ Cf. *Kural*, last stanza of the chapter dealing with *akkamudaimai* (ஈக்கமுடைமை—Energy) :
uramoruvat-kulla verukkai yahdillâr
maramakkalâdalê vêru.

(The real glory of man is firmness of mind; those who are devoid of it are like trees, their human form a sham.)

pēdi (fear), Gōṇḍī *varī* (to fear), Tuļu *pōdi*, Kann. *beragu* (haste) should be related to this series.

Another set retained the literal meaning, 'to be dry,' etc., in Tamil *varu*, *varaḷu*, *varu*, *vaṭru*,⁵ etc. ; Kann. *baṛu*, *battu*, *bara* (firewood), *baraḍu* (barrenness), etc. ; Tel. *varuvu* (dry) ; Mal. *vīragu* (firewood), *varakku* (fry), *varaḷti* (dried cowdung) ; Gōṇḍī *varī* (to brand), *vatt* (to be dry) ; Kūi *veju* (wood) ; Kurukh *batt* (to be dry), *bīr* (sun) ; Brāhūī *barun* (to be dry) ; *pirāing* (to become dry).

Tamil *viyar*, *veyar* (perspiration), Mal. *visarpu*, Tel.-Kann. *bedaru* (perspiration) are probably comparatively late formations, as the formative suffix appears more or less prominently in them.

The formative suffix *-gu* combined with *væ* and produced the following forms with literal meanings :

Tamil	<i>vēgu</i> (to boil).
Tel.	<i>vēgu</i> , <i>vētsu</i> .
Kann.	<i>baga</i> (blaze).
Kūi	<i>vah</i> (to fry) ; <i>veh</i> (to be hot).
Brāhūī	<i>beghing</i> (to knead).

-h- in the Kūi words and *-gh-* in the Brāhūī word are from an original *k* or *g* through an intermediate fricative ; cf. Kūi inter-vocal *-h-* in *maha* (mango), *toh-* (to tie), etc.

Kann. *baga* (blaze) is also connected with this series.

The following forms (with *-gu*) have figurative meanings by the process of metecsemey :

Tamil : *vehgu* (to desire), *veguḷu* (to be angry), *veguḷi* (agitation), *pagai*⁶ (hatred) ; Kann. *bakkudi* (agitation), *bekuli* (fear), *bakuli* (excessive desire), *biguru* (fear), *baga* (hatred), etc.

It is remarkable that forms with *-gu* possessing figurative meanings are found only in the South.

(3) The formative suffix *l* produced *vel* with various meanings ; *vel* with the meaning 'light' appears in

Tam.	<i>veliccām</i> ⁷ (light), <i>viḷangu</i> (to shine).
Kann.	<i>belaku</i> (lamp), <i>belagu</i> (to shine).
Mal.	<i>veliccām</i> , <i>veluppu</i> (dawn).
Kurukh	<i>billī</i> (light), <i>bilch</i> (to shine) ; <i>bijj-</i> (to become white).
Tuļu	<i>bilagu</i> (to shine).
Gōṇḍī	<i>pial</i> (by day) ; <i>piō</i> (steam).
Brāhūī	<i>piun</i> (white).
Gōṇḍī	<i>vērchi</i> (light), <i>mērci</i> (dawn).
Tel.	<i>vele</i> (to shine).

Tamil-Mal. *veimai*, *veluppu* (whiteness), *velli* (silver), etc. Kann. *bili* (white), *beḷi* (silver), Tuļu *bollī*, etc., are immediate derivatives from the above.

⁵ The formative suffixes of Dravidian could easily be detached from the most ancient of the extant forms. 'Base+primary suffix+secondary suffixes' forms the common scheme of Dravidian word-formation. The common suffixes which occur numerously in a recognizable condition in Tamil are *-d* (-nd), *-d̄*, *-r*, *-r̄*, *-l*, *-l̄*, *-g* (-ng), *-b* (-mb), etc. Both primary and secondary affixes could be distinguished as such in the instances given in this essay.

⁶ *r*, *r̄* appear to be one of the most ancient primary affixes which formed nouns and verbs from elementary bases. (Cf. my article on Brāhūī *r*-verbs in *JOR*, March 1930).

This suffix appears to have undergone further changes under certain definite conditions in the dialects :—(a) *r*>*tr*>*t* (*vide IHQ*, March 1929) ; (b) *r*>*tr*>*t*>*d*>*j* in Tuļu and Kūi (*vide* the same article, p. 148).

⁷ For the probable ancient change of initial *v*- to *p*-, see below.

⁷ *-ccām* goes back to *-ttam* (= *-t*, the formative affix, geminated in Tamil + *-am*, the neuter affix of Tam.-Kann.-Mal. group). Cf. *naḍattam* (walking), *marice-al* (turning), *ericc-al* (burning), etc.

A set of variants of *vēl*:⁸ 8 *pēl*, *pēn*, came to have the meaning of 'desire'; *pēn* (woman) in the South and Kurukh *pel* (woman), *pellō* (female child) should be traced to *pēl* (desire). By the semantic process of irradiation, *pēl*, *pēn* (-l and -n being related) came to signify the object of 'ardent desire,' viz., woman. Initial *v-* has probably changed to *p-* [cf. *vayi*, *bayi*, *paśi* (suffering, pain, hunger)] in *paidal* (suffering); *vēl* produced also the verb *vēl* or *vēn* with the specific meaning 'to desire ardently':

Tamil	<i>vēn</i> (to desire, ask, etc.).
Tamil-Mal	<i>vēl</i> (to desire to marry, to marry).
Kann.	<i>bēku</i> (< <i>bēlkū</i>), <i>bēdā</i> (negative of <i>bēku</i>).
Kurukh	<i>bedd</i> (to desire), <i>benj</i> (to marry).
Kûi	<i>benda</i> , <i>betka</i> (to incite, etc.).
Tuļu	<i>bēdu</i> (to desire), <i>bōdu</i> (desire). [In Tuļu an initial bilabial often changes original front vowels into the dorsal <i>u</i> or <i>o</i> .]

vēl, as a noun, has the meanings: 'favour,' 'desire,' 'offerings,' etc., in Tamil. Southern *vēṭṭai*, etc., (hunting) is also from *vēl* (to desire), having acquired its meaning by prossemey or restriction.

It is worthy of note that the figurative meanings of *vē* and its formatives are very conspicuous in the Tamil classics; Kuṛal for instance, has *veṅgōlan* (வெங்களன்—tyrant), *venḍuppu* (வெந்தப்பு—hot anger), *vegu lu* (anger), *veru vanda* (causing fear), etc. The meaning of 'ardent desire' expressed in the figurative use of *vēl*, etc. (by the process of metecsemey) seems to have been developed at a very early stage, since most of the Dravidian dialects possess forms with this meaning.

TABLE OF DRAVIDIAN DERIVATIVE FORMS BASED ON *VĒ* (HEAT, LIGHT).

<i>vāe</i> , <i>væ</i>				
[+ -l] = <i>ve!</i> (1)	[+ -?] = <i>ve, u</i>	[+ -r] = <i>var</i>	[+ gu] = <i>vēgu</i>	<i>vē</i>
				<i>vai</i>
				<i>pai</i>
				<i>bai</i>
(1) <i>ve!</i> (that which has 'heat,' 'light,' etc.)				
<i>ve!</i> (whiteness, light, etc.)	<i>ve!i</i> (outside)	<i>vē!</i> (to desire ardently, etc.)		
<i>veṇmai</i> , <i>veluppu</i> , etc. [Tamil]		<i>vēndu</i> [Tamil]	<i>pē!</i> (desire)	
<i>veliccām</i> , <i>veluppu</i> , etc. [Malayālam]		<i>bē!</i> [Kann.]		
<i>velli</i> , <i>botti</i> , <i>billi</i> , etc.		<i>bend</i> [Kurukh]		
		<i>benda</i> [Kûi]	<i>pe!</i> (woman)	
		<i>vadek-</i> [Gōndī]		
		[cf. also Tam.-Mal. <i>vēl</i> (to marry), Kurukh <i>benj</i> (to marry)]		

⁸ The change of *v-* to *p-* is a probable ancient change. *Vide infra* for analogies.

(2) *ver* (that which is ardently admired, or detested)

veruppu (detest)

veru (admiration)

verukkai (glory)

(3) *var*, *ver*, *ver*, *veyir*, etc.

veru (fear)—[Tamil]

pēdi (fear)—[Tamil]

bedar (fear)—[Kann.]

bede (hot feeling)—[Kann.]

pōdi (fear)—[Tulu]

vari (fear)—[Gōṇḍī]

varu (to be dry, to dry, etc.)

[Tamil] *varu*, *vat̄tru*, etc.

[Kann.] *baṛa* (firewood, etc.)

[Tel.] *varavu*, etc.

[Mal.] *viragu*, *varal*, *vara*, etc.

[Brāhūī] *bār-* (dry), etc.

[Kurukh]

veyirve [Tam.]

bevi, *bemaru*

besaru [Kann.]

viśarpu, etc. [Mal.]

(4) *vēgu*

vēgu (to be hot, etc.)

[Tam.]

[Kann.] *baga* (blaze)

[Tel.] *vēgu*, *vētsu*, etc.

vehgu (to desire,
covet, hate, etc.)

vegu (agitation), *pagai* (anger, hatred)

bagu (agitation)

beguru (fear), *begadu*, etc.

II. DRAVIDIAN *vā*, *bā*(*i*) (MOUTH).

This base is found in all Dravidian dialects.⁹ Its antiquity is undoubted, and it has given rise to various forms in Dravidian.

Kurukh *ba'a* (to say), *bār* (to be called, to have a title), Kūi *ves* (to speak), Gōṇḍī *vēs* in *vēsori* (tale), *veh* (to narrate) indicate a very early stage when verbs were formed from *vā* or *bā*. The first Kurukh word mentioned above is directly from *bā*,¹⁰ whereas the second one contains the formative affix (Middle-Passive) *-r-* which has changed the initially formed verb-sense into the idea of 'being named,' 'having a title,' etc.

Now, are a number of forms with the initial surd *p-* meaning 'to say,' 'to speak,' 'to command' cognate with the above series? The *p-* forms are the following:—

Tam. *pēs-u* (to speak), *par-eingu* (to speak).

Tel. *pēlu*, *prēlu* (to chatter).

Kann. *pēl* (to speak).

Tulu *pan* (to speak).

Mal. *para* (to speak).

Brāhūī *pan-ing* (to speak).

(To be continued.)

⁹ For possible word-correspondences in other language-families, cf. Austric *bā*, *pā* (mouth), Indo-Chinese (Ahom) *bā* (to say).

¹⁰ The following forms of Dravidian are probably traceable to this base:—*pān-ai*, *bāne* (earthen pot with large mouth); *vānu*, *bānu* (to make pots); *vāru*, *bāru*, *vālu* (to pour out); *vāsal*, *vādal* (door, gateway), etc.

CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

BY R. R. HALDER.

(Continued from page 166.)

"Bhimsi was the uncle of the young prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chauhan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Padmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alau'd-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Padmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajput, he entered Chitor slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajput unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Ala risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bhimsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Padmini."

The artifice by which Padminî contrived to rescue Bhîmsî and save her own honour, by sending to 'Alâu'd-dîn's camp, instead of herself and her handmaids, as pretended, 700 covered litters containing picked warriors, each borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters; how Bhîmsî escaped on a fleet horse and was pursued to the fort; how the Muhammadans were foiled in their assault; how 'Alâu'd-dîn, having recruited his strength, returned to the attack later on, and ultimately captured the fortress; and how the heroic women sacrificed themselves one and all by the awful rite of *jauhar*, "to find security from dishonour in the devouring element"; all this is vividly and eloquently told in the glowing pages of Tod in a famous chapter, which need not be quoted at length here."⁴³

The account given in Briggs' *Ferishta* is as follows:—

"Alla-ood-Deen about this time sent an army by the way of Bengal to reduce the fort of Wurungole in Tulingana, while he himself marched towards Chittoor, a place never before attacked by the troops of the Mahomedans. After a siege of six months, Chitor was reduced in the year 703, and the government of it conferred on the king's eldest son, the Prince Khizr Khan, after whom it was called Khizrabad"⁴⁴

Among the events of the next year, Firishta further says:—

"At this time, however, Ray Ruttun Sein, the Raja of Chittoor, who had been prisoner since the king had taken the fort, made his escape⁴⁵ in an extraordinary manner.

"Alla-ood-Deen, having received an extravagant account of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would deliver her over to him, he should be released. The Raja, who was very ill-treated during his confinement, consented and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the king. The Raja's family, however, hearing of this dishonourable proposal, concerted measures for poisoning the princess, to save the reputation of the house. But the Raja's daughter contrived a stratagem by which she proposed to procure her father's release, and preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to let it be known that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Dehly on a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this. Having selected a number of the dependents of the family, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in litters (such as are used by women), she proceeded with such a retinue of horse and foot, as is customary to guard ladies of rank. Through her father's means, she received the king's passport, and the cavalcade proceeding by slow

⁴³ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 307-11.

⁴⁴ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 353-54.

⁴⁵ The escape of Ratansimha is also mentioned in Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 385, and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 211.

marches to Dehly, was admitted without interruption. It was night when the party arrived, and, by the king's especial permission, the litters were allowed to be carried into the prison, the attendants, having taken their stations without. No sooner were they within the walls, than the armed men leaping out of the litters, put the king's guards to the sword, and carried off the Raja. Horses being already prepared for his flight, he mounted one, and rushing with his attendants through the city, before opposition could be made, fled to his own country among the hills, where his family were concealed. Thus, by the exertions of his ingenious daughter, the Raja effected his escape, and from that day continued to ravage the country then in possession of the Mahomedans. At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of this reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."⁴⁶

Now, as regards the account given by Col. Tod, it may be stated that Lakhamsî was not the ruler of Mewâr when Chitor was attacked by 'Alâu'd-dîn. He was the ruler of an estate called Sisodâ in Mewâr and was subordinate to Ratnasiinha. He was killed fighting along with his seven sons against 'Alâu'd-dîn at the siege of Chitor.⁴⁷ Bhîmsî (Bhîmasimha) was not the uncle, but the grandfather⁴⁸ of Lakhamsî (Lakṣmaṇasimha), and must have died many years before the attack on Chitor; for his grandson, Lakhamsî, being a father of eight sons, seems to have reached an advanced age at the time of the siege. Chitor was attacked only once⁴⁹ by 'Alâu'd-dîn, and at that time its ruler was Ratansen (Ratnasimha), as is rightly stated by Firishta. But Firishta is certainly wrong in saying that 'Alâu'd-dîn asked Ratnasimha to deliver one of his daughters to him and that the Râjâ (Ratnasimha) effected his escape from prison at Delhi through the exertions of his daughter. Padminî was the wife of Ratnasimha, though her parentage is yet unknown, and she was not the object for which 'Alâu'd-dîn attacked Chitor: it was his warlike spirit and desire for conquest which led him to besiege Chitor, Ranthambhor, Jâlor and other places in Râjpûtânâ. Both Col. Tod and Firishta are mistaken in stating that Ratnasimha was taken prisoner to Delhi by 'Alâu'd-dîn, and that Padminî went there to effect the escape of her husband or father by a stratagem, in which she succeeded. Neither Ratnasimha nor Padminî went to Delhi: the former met his death in the fighting at Chitor, and the latter in the flames of *jauhar* after her husband had been killed, as is correctly stated by Col. Tod. There was no king of Ceylon named 'Hamir Sank,' who was contemporary with Râwal Ratnasimha of Mewâr.⁵⁰

The story narrated by Col. Tod and Firishta about the attack of 'Alâu'd-dîn on Chitor may also be found in earlier compilations. For instance, the Hindi poem⁵¹ on Padmâvatî compiled by Maḥmûd Jayasî in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. gives, more or less, the same account. The purport of the story is given below:—

Ratansen, son of Chitrasen, king of Chitor, having learnt through a parrot of the extraordinary beauty of Padminî, the daughter of Champâvatî, the queen of the king Gandhravasen of Siṁhaladvîpa (Ceylon), went to Ceylon in the guise of a mendicant to obtain a sight of her. They accidentally met in a Śiva temple and fell in love with each other. Subsequently, on the growth of an intense love between them, they were married by Padminî's father. After spending some time in Ceylon, Ratansen returned to Chitor with Padminî. At Chitor there was a Brâhmaṇa named Râghavachetana, who incurred the displeasure of the Râṇâ and was banished from the kingdom. He went direct to Sultân 'Alâu'd-dîn of Delhi and informed

⁴⁶ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 362-63.

⁴⁷ *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1925-26, p. 2.

⁴⁸ MM. Rai Bahâdur G. H. Ojhâ's *History of Râjpûtânâ* (in Hindi), vol. I, p. 522.

⁴⁹ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 353. Elliot: *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁰ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 321; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. xviii, 78-80.

⁵¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. IV, p. 419. Also as in note 48 above, pp. 487-491.

him of the exquisite beauty of Ratansen's wife, Padminî. The Sultân at once asked Ratansen to deliver Padminî to him and, on his refusing to do so, attacked Chitor with a large army. The fighting continued for eight years, and seeing that the fort could not be conquered, the Sultân expressed his desire merely to have an interview with Ratansen and then return to Delhi. Ratansen acceded to this request. On the occasion of his visit the Sultân accidentally beheld Padminî, through a mirror while he was playing chess with Ratansen, and determined to secure possession of her at any cost. While returning from Chitor, he treacherously made Ratansen prisoner and took him to Delhi in chains.

Hearing of this sad news, Padminî, under the direction of her two chiefs, Gorâ and Bâdal, went to Delhi with 1,600 covered litters containing brave Râjpûts disguised as her handmaids. On reaching Delhi, permission was obtained for her (Padminî) to hand over the keys of Chitor to the king Ratansen and then to present herself to the Sultân. In the course of this visit, the king's chains were cut, and he mounted a horse and rode towards Chitor along with Padminî and Bâdal. When this news reached 'Alâ'u'd-dîn, he ordered his army to pursue the Râjpûts. The latter, under the leadership of Gorâ, turned and opposed the Delhi forces. Gorâ was killed in the fight that ensued, but meanwhile the king, queen and Bâdal managed to reach Chitor safely. Shortly after this, king Ratansen died, leaving Chitor in charge of Bâdal. Padminî and the other queen, Nâgamatî, became *satis* after the death of their husband. Soon after this, Chitor was attacked by 'Alâ'u'd-dîn and captured.

Thus we see that the story of the poem is nearly the same as that narrated by Tod and Firishta. It is probable that this story, being the earlier composition, was used, with variations, by Firishta, and that Tod afterwards drew on Firishta. The part played by the parrot in the love-affair between Ratnasiîha of Chitor and Padminî of Ceylon, as well as the story of the marriage between them having taken place in Ceylon, may have been added to give more dramatic effect to a tale that was based, at all events, on one fact, namely, that 'Alâ'u'd-dîn Khaljî attacked Chitor.

After the assaults by the Sultâns of Delhi, Chitor fell a prey to those of the Sultâns of Mâlwâ and Gujarât. During the reign of Hammîra's successor, Mahârânâ Ksetrasimha, an attack by Amî Shâh of Mâlwâ seems to have been delivered upon Chitor. This may be concluded from the inscription,⁵² dated S. 1545, of the time of Mahârânâ Râyamal and from the inscription,⁵³ dated S. 1485, at Śringî Rishi, which tell us that Ksetrasimha defeated Amî Shâh and humbled his pride. The Amî Shâh of these inscriptions was evidently Sulîân Dilâwar Khân Ghorî of Mâlwâ.⁵⁴

In Tod's *Râjasthân*, Ksetrasimha is said to have defeated the emperor Humâyûn near Bâkrol.⁵⁵ This is impossible, as Humâyûn reigned between 1530 and 1555 A.D., while Ksetrasimha ruled in 1364—82 A.D.

The next attack on Chitor was made by Sulîân Maîmûd Khaljî of Mâlwâ in the year 846 A.H. (1443 A.D.), after he had assaulted one of the forts in the Kumbhalmer district defended by Benirâya, the deputy of Rânâ Kumbhâ (Kumbhâkañña) of Chitor. The army of the Sultân carried by storm the lower fort; but the death of his father, A'zam Humâyûn, in the meantime, prevented further action. After a short time the Sultân once more led his army against Chitor, determined to begin operations after the rainy season was over. Mahârânâ Kumbhâ, however, made an attack upon him with a force of 12,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry, but, as the Sultân had occupied an advantageous position, the assault failed. Then the Sultân in his turn attacked the Mahârânâ's force, and, after inflicting some loss on the Mahârânâ, returned to Mândû. It was about this time that the Mahârânâ began erecting the famous Kîrtistambha, the Tower of Fame. In the year 850 A.H. (1446 A.D.), the Sultân sent Tâj Khân with a force of cavalry to attack Chitor, with no definite result. After a few

⁵² *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 119, v. 29.

⁵³ *Râjpûtdnâ Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Memoirs of Jahângîr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. I, p. 407. Elliot : *History of India*, vol. IV, p. 552.

⁵⁵ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 321.

years (in 858 A.H.=1454 A.D.) he himself again marched towards Chitor, but finding his position difficult, accepted a sum of money from the Mahârânâ and returned to Mândû. About this time the Mahârânâ attacked the Sultân's army under Tâj Khân and forced him to retreat.⁵⁶ When the Sultân of Mâlwâ found himself unable to overpower the Mahârânâ single-handed, he sought an alliance with the Sultân of Gujarât. For this purpose he sent Tâj Khan to Gujarât to propose an offensive alliance with Quṭb Shâh against the Râjpûts of Mewâr. Accordingly, a treaty was signed at Champaner by their respective envoys in the year 860 A.H. (1456 A.D.), and in the following year Quṭb Shâh of Gujarât and Mahmûd Khaljî of Mâlwâ began their attacks on the Mahârânâ. After some fruitless attempts, Mahmûd Khaljî returned to Mâlwâ, and Quṭb Shâh went to Ahmadâbâd, where he died in 863 A.H. (A.D. 1459).⁵⁷

A few years after these events, in 1468 A.D., the death⁵⁸ of Mahârânâ Kumbhâkarna was caused by the hand of his own son, Udayasimha, and Chitor soon became the scene of civil war. The parricide Udayasimha was quickly repudiated by the people of Mewâr, who invited his younger brother, Râyamal, to seize the throne. After severe fighting at Jâwar, Dârimpur, Pânagarh and other places, Râyamal made an attack on Chitor, which he captured, after stout opposition,⁵⁹ in Samvat 1530 (1473 A.D.). The dethroned Udayasimha ultimately formed an alliance with Sultân Ghiyâsu'd-dîn of Mâlwâ for recovering Chitor, but died almost immediately afterwards, being struck by lightning.⁶⁰ The Sultân, however, with the intention of placing the two sons of Udayasimha on the throne of Chitor, attacked the fortress, and being defeated after a severe contest, retreated to Mândû.⁶¹

After Ghiyâsu'd-dîn, his son Nâşiru'd-dîn succeeded as Sultân of Mâlwâ. In the Hijrî year 909 (1503 A.D.), he proceeded towards Chitor, whence, having received a large sum of money from Mahârânâ Râyamal and the daughter of Jivanadâs, one of the subordinate Chiefs, he returned to Mândû.⁶² After a short time, Nâşiru'd-dîn again sent an army against Chitor, in order to help Sûrajmal and Sâraṅgadeva, son and uncle, respectively, of the late Mahârânâ Udayasimha. After some engagements, this force was defeated and obliged to retire.

After these minor attempts Chitor became the butt of two fierce attacks made on it by Sultân Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. In the year 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.), the Sultân decided to attack the fort of Râisin and subdue its ruler Silhadi, as the latter refused to present himself at court. He pitched his camp near the fort of Râisin, the walls of which were levelled to the ground, and orders issued for an attack. Upon this, Silhadi expressed his wish to become a Muhammadan and give up the fort to the Sultân; but his brother Lakṣmaṇasen, dissenting from such action, determined to hold the place till succour arrived from Rânâ Vikramâjit of Chitor, to whom Silhadi's son, Bhûpat, was despatched for assistance. On hearing that a force of 40,000 horse was being sent by the Rânâ of Chitor to the aid of the garrison of Râisin, Bahâdur Shâh sent Muḥammad Khân Âsîrî and 'Imâdu'l-mulk with a force against the Rânâ, and soon joined this force himself after appointing Ikhtiyâr Khan to continue the siege of Râisin. Within 24 hours he travelled 70 *kos* and put fresh life into his army by his presence. The Rânâ declined an action, and retreated towards Chitor on learning the superiority of the Sultân's force. Bahâdur pursued the Rânâ with the speed of lightning, but the latter reached Chitor first. As the Râisin fort was still untaken, the Sultân decided not to attack Chitor until matters were settled at Râisin, and accordingly he returned to Râisin, capturing the fort on the last day of Ramazân 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.).⁶³ Shortly after this Bahâdur Shâh collected an enormous supply of arms, artillery and ammunition and

⁵⁶ Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, pp. 208-23.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 338.

⁵⁹ *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 121, and *Vira Vinod*, vol. I, p. 337.

⁶⁰ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 339.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 345. Tod gives the name of the Sultân of Mâlwâ as Muzaffar, which is a mistake.

⁶² Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 243.

⁶³ Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 356-365.

despatched them for the siege of Chitor. He ordered Muḥammad Khan Āṣirī and Khudāwand Khān to proceed with his army from Māṇḍū to Chitor. When they reached Mandasor, they were met by the *vakils* of the Rāṇā, who stated that the Rāṇā was prepared to offer his submission to the Sultān, if the siege of Chitor were abandoned. This proposal was conveyed to Bahādur Shāh at Māṇḍū by Shajā'at K̄lān. Bahādur Shāh, however, remembering the Rāṇā's bold action in sending aid to Silhadi, and being bent upon investing the fortress of Chitor, rejected the Rāṇā's offer, and sent Tātār Khān with veteran troops for the subjugation of the place. On the 5th Rajab 939 A.H. (1533 A.D.) Tātār Khān took and plundered the suburbs of Chitor. Next day he attacked the outer gate and carried that also. On the 8th of the month, Muḥammad Shāh and Khudāwand Khān came up with heavy cannon and a siege-train, and the fortress was completely invested. The Sultān started from Māṇḍū with an escort of five horsemen and reached Chitor in 24 hours. His large army came up behind him. He gave directions for bringing up and placing in position the battering guns. The great gun which had been brought from Diu sent "rocks tumbling down on rocks and buildings upon buildings." The exertions of the Sultān in pressing on the siege were unprecedented. It is said that he had sufficient men and artillery to have besieged four such places as Chitor.

(To be continued.)

SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retired.)

(Continued from page 224.)

Before going on to relate his further travels, Sidi 'Alī remarks that among the *Bāniāns* of the country, by whom, we know from a subsequent passage, he refers to the Hindus in general,²⁵ there is a literate class called *Bat* (i.e., *Bhāṭ*), whose duty it was to guide and protect and stand surety for merchants and travellers. These *Bats* accompanied the caravans, and if robbers attacked them on the way, drew their daggers and, pointing them to their own breasts, threatened to kill themselves on the spot if any harm were done to the travellers.²⁶ Accompanied by two of these men Sidi 'Alī and his companions set out from Ahmādābād about the middle of the month of Ḫafar A.H. 962 (January 1555) on their long overland journey to Turkey. In five days they reached Pāṭan²⁷ (the ancient Anhilvāḍā), the chief town of western India until superseded, under Muhammadan rule, by Ahmādābād, from which it lies about 63 miles NNW. Here the Pulādī brothers, Sher Khān and Mūsā Khān,²⁸ who were making preparations to attack the ruler of Rādhanpur, tried to prevent them from proceeding to the latter place. Sidi 'Alī insisted upon moving on, and in five days more he arrived at Rādhanpur, which lies about 40 miles to the west of Pāṭan. Here the *Bats* were sent back to Ahmādābād and the journey continued to Nagar-Pārkār, then in the possession of Rājpūts (probably Sodas, still dominant in that district). As the distance from Rādhanpur

²⁵ The use of this word in this general sense is interesting as indicating the important position held by merchants in Western India in those days. It is the Marāṭhī *vāṇī* and Gujarātī *vāṇiyō*, reproduced by the Portuguese in their intercourse with the west coast as 'Baneane'; and this has given us our word 'Banyan.'

²⁶ Compare the account given in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, vol. II, p. 814. See also *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell, vol. IX, p. 209 f.

²⁷ Vambéry failed to identify the place. He writes Patna, instead of Patan (پاتن), as read by Diez.

²⁸ For some account of these brothers, see Ḥājjī ad-Dabīr's *History of Gujarat* and the *Mirāt al-Sikandari*.

would be about 70 miles, the party must have been delayed en route, as ten days were spent on the road. Here they were attacked by a band of hostile Rājpûts, but, forming a zareba with the camels and opening fire, they cowed their assailants. After this they wandered across sand and desert for some ten days²⁹ till they reached Wânga, which lay, Sîdî 'Alî tells us, on the frontier of Sind. This is Wânga or Wângô Bâzâr, marked on nearly all maps of Sind, on the bank of the Nârâ, 80½ miles SW. from Hyderabad, on the road that crosses the Rann of Kacch to Bhûj. It is of geographical interest to learn that this was regarded as the eastern boundary of Sind at that period; and we may, I think, assume that this boundary was formed by an important river, probably the main eastern branch of the Indus.

From Wânga, where they hired fresh camels, they moved on to Jûn and Bâgh-i-Fath. Jûn is the Joon of James Burnes's map of 1827-28,³⁰ marked as situated about 45 miles E. by N. from Tatta and some 12 miles S. by E. from Tândo Muhammad Khân. Though there is now only a *deh*³¹ of this name in Taluka Guni, Hyderabad district, to mark its site, Jûn was once a place of considerable importance, situated near the bank of one of the branches of the Indus,³² the lands around being well irrigated and fertile. It was here that Humâyûn settled down for some eight months³³ after leaving Umarkot, being influenced in moving there by the prospect of obtaining supplies of grain for his troops and followers. He pitched his tent in a large garden, while his whole encampment was surrounded by an earthen rampart and ditch as a protection from attack by Shâh Mîrzâ Husain. In his *Tarkhân-nâma*, Saiyid Jamâl writes³⁴ of Jûn: "This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes." Ma'sûm in his *History of Sind*,³⁵ writes: "There are many gardens there, such as the heart rejoices in, with fruit trees, on which account it raises its head above all the other towns in Sind." Bâgh-i-Fath does not appear to be marked on the Survey sheets available, but it lay a few miles further on, to the NNW. of Jûn. Both Jûn and Bâgh-i-Fath are named in the *Âin-i-Akbarî*³⁶ as *mahals* of *sarkâr* Hâjkan, the heavy assessment on the former indicating its reputation for fertility. The only maps I know of, in which both these places are shown are—(1) Map III, facing p. 30, in Major-General Haig's work, *The Indus Delta Country*, and (2) the map forming Plate CIII to Mr. H. Cousens' *Antiquities of Sind* (1929).³⁷ On the latter map they will be seen marked about 11 and 6 miles, respectively, SE. of Tândo Muhammad Khân, on the route to Badin. In fact all these three places (all of them old sites) probably lay on the then main route northwards to Naşrpur, Sehwân and Bukkur, which, with Tatta, were the most important towns in Sind at that time. It must be remembered that there was no such place as Hyderabad in those days. The main western branch of the Indus then flowed a long way east of the site on which Hyderabad

²⁹ As there was no direct road, the distance travelled might be anything from 100 to 120 miles.

³⁰ *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, 1831, frontispiece.

³¹ *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1907, p. 103.

³² The Rain river, according to Saiyid Jamâl, see Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

³³ From November 1542 to July 1543.

³⁴ See extract from the *Tarkhân-nâma* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

³⁵ Muhammad Ma'sûm, *History of Sind*, translated by Captain G. G. Malet, *Bombay Government Record*, 1855, p. 113. Jauhar also describes Humâyûn's stay at Jûn, see *Tazkiratu'l-vâqi'ât*, translated by C. Stewart, *Oriental Trans. Fund series*, 1832, p. 44 f.

³⁶ Spelt 'Jaun' and 'Bâgh Fath' in Blochmann & Jarrett's translation, II, 339. Bâgh-i-Fath must also have been a place of importance at one time, as we are told in Jamâl's *Tarkhân-nâma* that Mîrzâ 'Isâ Tarkhân (who was Governor of Tatta in 1555) had been "Governor of Fath Bâgh" in 1553.

Prof. Vambéry supposed that Jûnc (or Juna, as he writes it) was a mistake for Junâgarh (in Kathiawâd)?

³⁷ *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XLVI, Imperial Series, last plate.

now stands, past Nasrpur, on the west of that town, bifurcating, it seems, lower down, the principal channel, probably flowing past Tatta to the sea, the other taking a S. by E. course, passing Bâgh-i-Fath, Jûn and Badîn, to the Rann.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON CHIAMAY.

(*The Mysterious Lake of the Far East.*)

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

THE derivation of Chiamay, as a name, that at once suggests itself is that it represents Chiengmai, the Zimmè of the Burmese, on the western branch of the Menam, which was subjugated by the Burmese-Shan king of Taungu just about the time of Mendez Pinto. There is, however, no lake in Chiengmai, but a temporarily inundated area, such as early European writers speak of in connection with lower Siamese valleys and existing during any given traveller's visit, may account for the term "Lake" being attached to Chiengmai. Even a modern writer, Hallet, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, speaks of the river plains in the Shan States being sometimes flooded artificially for the sake of the fishery, and also as being liable to inundations when irrigation works are neglected.

In 1921 Mr. Edward Heawood kindly sent me some rough notes of his own (not then with any view to publication) on this "mystery" of the Far East, and these I now reproduce, with his consent, in an ordered form. To his mind, it was quite possible that the story of the lake has somewhere a foundation in fact, but it was nevertheless mythical in stating that the lake was the common origin of the four great rivers that run to the south in Indo-China. Mendez Pinto is the standard, but by no means the only, authority for the statement and for the name Lake Chiamay, and Mr. Heawood thought that as his version agrees so nearly with the current belief in his time, it argues his dependence thereon in the main rather than on his personal knowledge, though he may have seen a lake, perhaps that of Talifu, which he took to be the Chiamay of then current geography. This presupposes a common origin which he and other early writers copied. Going upon the evidence he had collected, Mr. Heawood was inclined to place the "lake" near Chiengmai in the basin of the Meping in Siam, possibly as a temporarily flooded area of the kind described above.

Before Pinto's date, however (wrote Mr. Heawood) in the sixteenth century, Camoens speaks of Lake Chiamay in canto X, stanza 125, of the *Lusiads*, which, though not published till 1572, were composed before 1560, and gives the Menam as the only effluent, getting nearer the truth than the other early versions of the myth. "Cingapura" is mentioned in the same stanza, and this may be the origin of Pinto's name "Singapamor" (see below), given to the lake, probably due to some confusion. The next stanza mentions the "Gueos" (Gwê Shans, though some say Karens or Kachins), one of the names associated by Pinto with the river debouching from Lake Chiamay at Martaban. But see my own note on Gueos below.

Turning now to Pinto's account: in ch. 128 of the original Portuguese edition of 1614 (p. 41, § 4 of Cogan's English version of 1653), he describes a supposed journey, by a great river throughout, from North China to Indo-China, passing by Lake Singapamor (*que os naturaes da terra nemeão por Cunebetee*). It has a circuit of 36 leagues, and harbours a great number of birds. Four great rivers emerge therefrom:

- (1) Ventrau, traverses Sornau (Siam) and enters the sea at Chiantabuu.

- (2) Iangumaa, flows south and south-east and traverses the kingdom of Chiammay, the Laos and Gueos, and part of Dambambuu, entering the sea at the "barra de Martauão" in the kingdom of Pegu.
- (3) Pumfileu, traverses the whole of Capimper, Sacotay, and Monginoco, part of Meleytay and Souady, entering the sea at the barra de Cosmin [Bassein] near Arracão. [Here the present writer would remark that the term Monginoco is of especial interest as an echo of the Portuguese name Branginoco for Bhurin-gyînaungchau (pronounced now Bayin-gyî-naungzaw), a title of the Burmese-Shan overlord of Pegu and Lower Burma in the early seventeenth century.]
- (4) Not known by any name, but probably the Ganges of Sategão in the kingdom of Bengala.

Pinto and his companions crossed the lake and went on by Caleypute. Elsewhere he speaks of a war of the king of Siam against the king of Chiamay, in the course of which he came to the "Lake Singapamor, usually called Chiamay."

Yule, *Mission to the Court of Ava* (ch. VIII of 1858 ed. and Note E of 1856), speaks of Pinto's account, and says he is probably the only traveller who declares that he has seen the Lake of Chiamay. He identifies elsewhere Jangomaa with Chiengmai, and speaks of the general belief of a common origin for the great rivers of Indo-China, associating it with the fact that the great rivers of Northern India rise so near each other.

Next Barros (quoted by Ramusio at the end of vol. I) gives an account of Lake Chiamay and the rivers in *Dec. I, liv. ix, cap. i* [ed. of 1777, I (2), p. 308]. He says that the great river of Pegu comes from Lake Chiamai, 200 leagues in the interior, from which six rivers issue, three joining to make the great river of Siam and three others entering the "Enseada de Bengala." One of these last traverses the kingdom of Caor [Gaur, or Northern Bengal], whence the river takes its name," and also the kingdoms of Camotai and Cirote, debouching near Chatigão (Chittagong) into the branch of the Ganges, opposite the island of Sornagão. The river of Pegu [here obviously the Irrawaddy] traverses the kingdom of Ava, and the third makes its exit at Martabão, between Tavay (*sic*) and Pegu. The "Capo di Cingapura" is repeatedly mentioned in the same chapter..

Pinto probably added knowledge of his own, if he had any, to the common stock of his time, as the other early accounts agree better among themselves than with him. Gastaldi (map of 1561) gives the name Chiamay to the town near it as well as to the lake, whereas Pinto speaks of a country of that name, not as being near the lake, but as situated on one of its effluents. Pinto also calls his second river issuing from Lake Chiamay, the Jangumaa, *i.e.*, Chiengmai, which is Gastaldi's name for a kingdom east of all the four rivers. His third river, the Pamphileu, is Caipumo in Gastaldi, which again seems to be the Capimper of Pinto. This river, Mercator (1569 and later) calls Cosmin, from the old name for Bassein, which place Pinto places at its bar. Magini, it may be noted, gives an account of the lake and the rivers in his supplement to Ptolemy in 1596. Chiamay does not seem to be mentioned by Gaspar da Cruz (*ob.* 1570).

Sven Hedin has a chapter on Lake Chiamay in his *Southern Tibet*, in which he strangely identifies the lake with Mansarowar, merely because one of its effluents was supposed to be the Ganges.

To the above notes by Mr. Hewood I added the following at the same time. The obvious remark to make is that Pinto, Barros, etc., and the cartographers of the day were reporting only what they heard, and at the best but partially comprehended, with the result the name Chiamay came to stand for a State, a town, a river and a lake in various situations,

widely separated geographically. In such circumstances it might well have been applied in all four senses. This suggests that Chiamay sprang out of the Shan term Chiengmai= Burmese Zimmè. But it is quite possible that something entirely different has been confused with it.

There is in the hinterland of Burma and Pegu more than one celebrated lake whose fame might have reached the early Europeans on the coasts in a confused manner:—
(1) There was a great lake in the Kentung Shan State, which was drained off by nature, not by man, within historical times, and the memory of the consequent flooding lives in legend among the Shans, Kachins and Karens as stories of a Deluge. (2) Yawng-Hwe Lake in the Southern Shan States has a people called the Inthâs (Lake-dwellers) celebrated in story. (3) Nawng-Hkeo Lake in the Wild Wa country and head-hunting centre has a wide uncanny reputation. (4) Nawng-tung Lake in the Kentung Shan State has also a wide reputation as the scene of the triennial festival of the Nawng-tung Vestals, when picked maidens are ‘married’ to the Spirit of the Lake. Tales concerning any one of these lakes may have filtered through to the Portuguese in a garbled form, pointing to a famous inland lake. But the whole question wants following up before anything definite could be asserted.

Then there is the periodic flooding in places—especially in the deltas—of the country about the great rivers. The Irrawaddy, as high up as Mandalay, gave me personally, when in charge of the town in 1887-1889, much trouble in this respect. No doubt also the Sittang, the Salween, the Menam and the Mekong are equally liable to flood in places.

Lastly, there is the great Tonlesap Lake in Cambodia, and no doubt others, of which accounts came through to the Portuguese. However, one can say little of the likelihood or otherwise of such speculations without a careful critical examination of texts and maps, old and new.

References to Chiamay occur in Dames' *Barbosa*, e.g., II, 168, where Chiengmai is described as a possible location for the “Gueos”; see also II, 242, and II, 244, where Barros, *Decadas*, is quoted.

Dames and others seem puzzled by the name Gueo for a large tribe, and there is no doubt that it wants hunting to earth. I think it will on critical examination turn out to be a Shan tribe. The King of Pegu, whom the early Portuguese met, was by acquired nationality a Talaing, but by descent a “Gwe” Shan, which fact makes one think. Some have thought the Gueos to be Kachins, i.e., of Tibeto-Burman race. Others that they were Karens; others again that they were Was, i.e., a branch of the Mon Race, as are the Talaings themselves, whereas Shans and Siamese make up a race of their own. Then there are the Giaos or Giaochis—again a ‘Chinese’ Wild Tribe (Barbarians)—as indeed are all the rest above-mentioned. The whole question wants critical examination and settling.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MEANING OF BHAVABHŪṢANA-SANTATI AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF APARA-MANDĀRA IN THE RĀMACARITA OF SANDHYĀKARA NANDĪ.

BHAVABHŪṢANA-SANTATI IN THE RĀMACARITAM.

The Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākara Nandī (twelfth century A.D.), after describing at length the successful campaign of Rāmapāla, the last great emperor of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, against the insurgent Kaivartas of Varendra (northern Bengal), and referring to the construction of a city by him, called after his name, Rāmāvatī, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā, introduces a verse purporting that he, the Pāla monarch, conquered Utkala (Orissa) and Kalinga, but restored the former to the descendants of the 'Bhavabhūṣana' family. The verse as it is, runs thus :—

Bhavabhūṣana-santati-bhuvraṁ-anujagrāhajitaṁ-Utkalatram yah

Jagadavatima samastaṁ Kaliṅgatastān niśācharān nighnan. (III, 45.)

Opinion differs as to the significance of the expression *Bhavabhūṣana-santati*. In his introduction to the Rāmacaritam, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Śāstrī, who has discovered and edited the work (*Mem.A.S.B.*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 1 ff), regards it as alluding to the Nāgavaṁśis. There are others who have taken it in the sense of the kings of the so-called lunar dynasty. But consistency of facts can only be preserved if it be supposed to imply what was called the Kēśari dynasty. Bhavabhūṣana, or literally, the ornament of Bhava, an epithet of Mahādeva in his water-presiding character, denotes the serpents, which are but the mane (*keśara*) of him. Setting it in an historical background, it would be noticed that prior to the expedition of Rāmapāla against the Kaivartas, the lord of Utkala was one Karṇakeśarī, who was overthrown by Jayasimha, king of Dāndabhukti and an associate of Rāmapāla in that famous expedition. Because of the cognomen *keśara* the house of Karṇakeśarī had been, so it appears, claiming descent right from the *keśara* (mane) of Bhava, just as the Chālukyas did from the *chuluka* or water-vessel of Brahmā.

While mentioning that Karṇakeśarī was worsted by Jayasimha, Sandhyākara Nandī otherwise designates the former as *sarid-vallabha-kumbha-sambhava*, that is, 'having originated from the pitcher of the lord of water' (cf. II, 5, Com.). This also tends to the same conclusion. It is a most befitting conception that Mahādeva, when viewed as a deity in association with the lordship of water, should also have a pitcher on his head, instead of the serpents, that, being clotted together, ordinarily constitute his crest and mane.

Curiously enough, neither the name of Karṇakeśarī, nor that of Udyotakeśarī, whose historical existence as a ruler of Orissa is substantiated by epigraphical testimony (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, App., p. 90, No. 668), occurs in the long list furnished by the

palm-leaf records of Jagannātha (*vide* Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, App. VII, pp. 185-87), of the Keśarī kings, who are alleged to have ruled in succession in Orissa, and numbered not less than forty-four. These records, although certainly considerably lacking in authenticity, contain, at any rate, a nucleus of truth about the rule in Orissa of a dynasty comprising a number of kings with the surname Keśarī, before the province had finally become subjugated by the Gaṅga prince of Kalinganagara, Anantavarmā Chōdagaṅga, in the eleventh century A.D.

It is, however, difficult to maintain with precision who it was that usurped possession of Utkala on the dethronement of Karṇakeśarī. Obviously, Jayasimha himself did not. In that case, along with Utkala, his original kingdom in Dāndabhukti, too, would have equally felt the brunt of the ungrateful arms of Rāmapāla. Jayasimha appears only to have fought in the van of another aggressive prince against Karṇakeśarī, and the Rāmacaritam never records the actual possession of Utkala by Jayasimha. As for Anantavarmā Chōdagaṅga, the conquest of Orissa by him in the tenth century A.D. is not yet established by any reliable evidence. This point, therefore, awaits the discovery of further material before a definite conclusion can be drawn.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF APARA-MANDĀRA.

Amongst the motley of kings that temporarily joined together and made common cause with Rāmapāla against the revolting Kaivartas of northern Bengal, there was one Lakṣmīśūra of 'Apara-Mandāra' (II, 5, Com.), the site of which has yet to be identified.

Mandāra, the famous hill in the Bhāgalpur district, and with which is associated the myths about its being used by the gods and the demons during the churning of the ocean, is "situated about 30 miles south of the town Bhāgalpur." (I.G., vol. VI, p. 289.) "It is on the eastern side of the river Chandan, 2½ miles N. of Bausi and 29 S. of Bhāgalpur in Lat. 24° 50' N., Long. 87° 6' E." (I.A., vol. I, p. 46, footnote). Cunningham puts it: "The famous hill of Mandar stands about 1½ miles off the present road from Bhāgalpur to Seuri, near the village of Oureya....." (A.S.I., vol. VIII, p. 130.) He also supposes that Pliny's Mount Maleus or Mallus is probably "intended for the celebrated Mount Mandar....." (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. Majumdar Śāstrī, p. 582). In the seventh century A.D., two tanks were caused to be excavated there by Koṇadevī, consort of Adityasena of the later Gupta dynasty (Fleet's C.I.I., vol. III, p. 212). The antiquities and their interests, which are not few, about the hill have been discussed at greater length by R. B. Bose (I.A., vol. I, p. 46 ff.)

The expression *apara-Mandāra*, denoting, as it does, 'on the other (side) of Mandāra,' is, in the present instance, applicable to the region on the southern and south-western sides of the hill, since the northern side of it, which was Aṅga proper, was swayed over

at that eventful time by Mathanadeva, the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla, while to the east lay the kingdom of Kayaigala (Hiuen Tsang's Kajaingala), the capital of which has been located near modern Rājmahāl. It is, therefore, highly probable that Lakṣmīśūra's territory comprised the site of modern Deoghara, Vaidyanātha, etc., and that he was the chief among the feudatories who ruled over the whole of that silvan tract of land and its vicinity. This is exactly in keeping with the description in the Rāmacaritam, viz., *Apara-Mandāra-madhusūdanaḥ-samastātavikāśamanta-chakrachūḍāmanīḥ* (II, 5. Com.). As for the poet Sandhyākara Nandī, an inhabitant of Paundra-Vardhana, which was geographically situated in the north-eastern direction from the Mandāra hill, he does not seem unjustified in describing the south-western side of that hill as its 'other side.' The explanation of the phrase *apara-Mandāra* as 'another Mandāra' (*Mem. A.S.B.*, vol. V, p. 89), although correct in a general way, would yield here no meaning at all.

While sometime between 1021 and 1025 A.D., the generals of Rājendradevachōla I (*Ep. Ind.*, vol.

XVIII, pp. 53-54) invaded north-eastern India, the rulership of the southern Rādha country was vested in one Raṇasūra (*S.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 27, No. 18). It is not improbable that overthrown by the Chōla army, he, Raṇasūra, fled towards the so-called Apara-Mandāra, and established a kingdom there anew, and that to his dynasty belonged Lakṣmīśūra.

Gadh-Mandāran in the southern Rādha country, which is sometime identified as Apara-Mandāra, appears to be wholly wide of the mark, one, though not the only, reason for this being that Lakṣmīśūra would, in that case, best appear as the overlord of the Kōṭa forest, but the Rāmacaritam would not have it. Again, it would be going too far, on the strength of a remark in the Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvamśa*, to assume that even in the days of Rāmapāla or Sandhyākara-Nandī, the southern Rādha country itself was covered with dense forest. The short description of southern Rādha about the eleventh century A.D. in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendradevachōla I, may well be taken into consideration here.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

BOOK-NOTICE.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI: by DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN, B.LITT. (Oxon.), M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1930.)

Of the five biographies of Shivaji which Dr. Sen has collated, the longest (pp. 1-170) and, in his judgment, one of the most important, is Cosme da Guarda's *Vida e accoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy*, which he has translated from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon. The author, who describes himself as a native of Murmugāo, near Goa, wrote the book in 1695, but it was not published until 1730. While admitting that most of the information which it offers is "incomplete and unreliable," Dr. Sen claims that it is not without its value. Most people, after reading Dr. Sen's translation, will share the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who was aware of the existence of the book in spite of its rarity, and who dismisses it as "full of gross inaccuracies." We are asked, *inter alia*, to believe (p. 1) that Shivaji was born in Portuguese territory, at Virar near Bassein (a fiction also propounded by Thévenot) and that "people were not wanting" who declared him to be the son of Dom Manoel de Menezes, "the lord of this village." The stratagem by which Shivaji escaped from Agra in a basket is well-known: a wholly different and utterly fantastic version is provided (p. 130), and the escape is said to have been made from Delhi. Other instances might be adduced. There is no attempt at chronological order; and although it may be true that no other author had anything to say about the naval battle between the Marathas and the Portuguese near Murmagāo, we are left in the dark as to the date, and Dr. Sen does not

help us, although he states that there is corroboration of the incident to be found in unpublished papers in the *Archivo Ultramarino* at Lisbon.

Thévenot's short biographical sketch, which comes next, is oddly silent on the subject of the much-discussed murder of Afzal Khan, and also the campaign of Jai Singh which led to Shivaji's visit to Agra. The third on Dr. Sen's list is the Abbé Barthelemy Carré's account of Shivaji, translated from his *Voyage aux Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieurs histories curieuses*, published at Paris in two small volumes in 1699. The work was known to Orme, whose poor opinion of it Dr. Sen declines to share. The portions relating to Shivaji have been translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Historical Miscellany* of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal, September 1928): but Dr. Sen is dissatisfied with Sir Jadunath's version, and supplies his own (pp. 187-217, 221-258). In several footnotes he criticizes Sir Jadunath's translation: and it must be admitted that the rendering (p. 222) of *homme de tête* as "headman" is open to question. Carré went to India with Caron—a Dutchman, who had been appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert—arrived at Surat in 1668, returned in 1671, and found his way back to India in 1672. Like Cosme da Guarda, he is an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji: and Dr. Sen claims that his book, at the date of his publication, was "practically unrivalled in accuracy and wealth of details." At the same time, he acknowledges that there is much in his narrative "that is no better than bazar gossip." It is clear, therefore, that it must be used with caution.

Dr. Sen's fourth excerpt is the account of the Carnatic expedition of 1677, which he has taken from

François Martin's unpublished *Mémoires sur l'Établissement des Colonies françaises aux Indes Orientales*, 1664-1696. The original MS., which M. Alfred Martineau (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, v. 616) declares to be of the utmost value, is in the Archives Nationales at Paris : and there is a transcript by the late M. P. Margry in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which all students of Indian history would be glad to see in print. Dr. Sen has therefore done good service in translating the portion which deals with the most notable of Shivaji's military achievements. The fifth document in Dr. Sen's volume is the "Beschryving van Suratte" in the first volume (pp. 264-267) of Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Amsterdam, 1724). The description of the first sack of Surat, which is well known, is evidently based on the day book of the Dutch Factory, which Dr. Sen reproduces later on (pp. 372-382) together with other extracts from the copies of the Dutch Records preserved at the India Office.

In his Introduction Dr. Sen discusses at some length (pp. xxxi-xxxviii) the charge brought against Shivaji in connexion with the first sack of Surat, that he cut off the heads and hands of a number of prisoners. The evidence for this is contained in the Rev. John L'Escalot's letter which is among the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum and was transcribed by Sir William Foster in the *Indian Antiquary* for December 1921 (vol. L., pp. 312-321), the log of the *Loyall Merchant* (Orme MSS. No. 263) and a letter from the President and Council at Surat, dated January 28, 1664. Dr. Sen declines to accept any of these authorities on the ground, firstly, that the Dutch records make no reference to the incident, and secondly, that the accounts are all based upon the testimony of Anthony Smith, an English factor, who was a prisoner for three days in the hands of Shivaji and who was sent to England a year later with an extremely bad report of his character. This hardly seems an adequate reason for supposing that Smith deliberately lied : and in any case Dr. Sen appears to have overlooked the following independent evidence which he will find in L'Escalot's letter. We are told that a cloth merchant "from about Agra" took refuge in the English Factory : he had presented himself before Shivaji and offered all he had. As this was cloth and "noe mony, the villain made his right hand to

be cutt off imediately and than told him begone : he had noe need of his cloth." This story, at all events, does not emanate from Smith : but is it worth while to attach so much importance to the matter ? As Dr. Sen himself says, Shivaji did not go to Surat "on a mission of mercy," and "the process of relieving opulent merchants of so much money must have involved torture and death, cruelty and oppression." The cult of Shivaji as a national hero is perfectly intelligible, and he was remarkable both as a general and as an administrator ; but he was not an angel incarnate. An interesting passage is cited (pp. 386-387) from the Dutch Records, which disposes of the favourite tradition, endorsed, among others, by Mr. Kincaid (*History of the Maratha People*) and Professor Takakhav and Mr. Keluskar (*Life of Shivaji Maharaj*: Bombay, 1921), that the family of Shivaji was connected with the Sesodia clan of Rajputs, of which the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur is the Chief. The fact is that the founder of the house—Bhosavant Bhosle—was in reality a *patel* or village headman, and, like the great mass of the Mahratta people, was by caste a Kunbi or cultivator. The Bhosles are neither Kshatriyas nor members of any twice-born caste : and if we turn to the pages of Ranade and Sarkar, we shall find that the genealogy of descent from the sun was fabricated by Balaji Avji and other agents of Shivaji, in order to overcome the Brahman prejudice against the coronation of a Sudra king, and that Gaga Bhat, a *pandit* from Benares, accepted it as genuine in return for a huge fee. That these manœuvres were publicly known at the time, is evidenced by the Dutch letter of October 13, 1674, to which we have referred. "Sivasy" is distinctly stated to have declared that "he could not be crowned unless he had abandoned his present caste of Bhonsla and taken the caste of Kettery."

The series is completed by a number of selections from the Bombay original correspondence. These relate principally to the various embassies to Shivaji—of Lieut. Stephen Usticke in 1672, Thomas Nicolls in 1673, Henry Oxinden in 1674, and Samuel Austen in 1675. Usticke's journal appears to have been lost ; the journals of the others are printed in full. That of Oxinden is of particular interest, as he was present at the coronation.

EVAN COTTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF THE SON RIVER.

In a note to his translation of the *Indika of Arrian*, and again in his later work, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, the late Dr. McCrindle stated that the Son joined the Ganges in the immediate vicinity of Patna till the year 1379, when it forsook its old channel and shifted westwards.

Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* refer me to the authority (not quoted by McCrindle) for assigning the shifting of the channel of the Son river to this particular year ?

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE KHIZRI SCRIPT.

Mr. H. A. Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, p. 564, writes : "In Jalalpur Jattan in the Gujrat District [of the Panjab] a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwaja Khizr [the ubiquitous supernatural being of the East] taught their forefathers the art of writing."

Can any reader tell me the nature and origin of this script, or where a MS. or sample of it can be got ?

R. C. TEMPLE.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 7.]

As will be seen from the *Articles of Agreement*, the commander of the *Bussorah Merchant* was apparently Captain John Cockroft, but, strangely enough, his name does not appear as such, nor is the vessel mentioned in the *Fort St. George Diary* which, however, records the arrival, on 5 May 1711 at Madras, of the *Elizabeth*, with Cockroft as commander, and her departure for China, also under Cockroft, on 23 May of that year, the day following the signing of the *Articles of Agreement* for the *Bussorah Merchant*.

The most probable explanation of the puzzle seems to be that the freighters, who had made their plans before Captain Cockroft's arrival at Madras, intended to induce him to change the name of his ship or to take command of another in their behalf, both which proposals he refused, but as all the accounts for lading, etc., had been made out in the name of the *Bussorah Merchant*, there was no time to alter them, and consequently all entries in China were continued under that designation.

For actual proof that Cockroft was commander and Scattergood and Jones supercargoes of the *Elizabeth* in her voyage to China in May 1711, there is among the *Papers* a receipt dated in Macao on 28 December (to be given later on) in which they are so designated, and it is further stated that the ship was then bound for Madras. Therefore it is plain that the *Elizabeth*, alias the *Bussorah Merchant*, sailed for China on 23 May and reached Macao on her homeward voyage on 28 December 1711.

Persons mentioned in the title. (1) Thomas Frederick. He had been in the Company's service since 1703. In 1711 he was Paymaster and Seventh in Council at Fort St. George. Later he became Deputy Governor of the Company's factory at Fort St. David, Cuddalore (Kûdalûr). In January 1704/5 he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Mackrith, an associate of Job Charnock in Bengal (Mrs. Penny, *Marriages at Fort St. George*).

(2) Charles Boone, then a free merchant, was Governor of Bombay, 1716-1720. In June 1709 he married at Fort St. George, Jane, widow of Joseph Lister, daughter of Daniel Chardin and niece of Sir John Chardin (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*).

(3) John Cockroft. Like Scattergood, Captain John Cockroft was a "seafaring man, not constant inhabitant" of Fort St. George. He had been in India for some years and had already made voyages to Surat and China. In August 1708 he married Ann Crump, who seems to have been his third wife (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*). He disappears from the *Madras Records* and the *Scattergood Papers* after 1711. If he complied with the 8th Article of the *Agreement*, he would have gone on to Surat, where he may have remained.

(4) Captain Philip Gamon (or Gammon), of whom no mention has been found in the *Madras Records*, appears to have been a free trader. The *Papers* show that he died before October 1713.

(5) James Penning. No other mention has been found of this individual. He was probably connected with Thomas Penning, a factor at Calicut and a friend of Francis Forbes, the first husband of Scattergood's wife, Arabella.

Imprimis. Edward Jones, also "a seafaring man, not constant inhabitant" of Fort St. George, had been supercargo of the *Sweepstakes*, owned by Catherine, widow of John Nicks, and commanded by Captain Thomas Gaywood. The ship was lost at Tranquebar in April 1710, and Gaywood and Jones were ordered "to make satisfaction for the damage sustained" to the trustees of Mrs. Nicks, who had died in the interval. They appealed against the award, but without result (*Fort St. George Diary and Consultations*, 1711).

Mr. Guyn. John Gwynn, later a shareholder in the *Amity* and *Britannia*, in both of which Scattergood was largely interested.

8thly. Nagapatam. Negapatam in Tanjore District, 160 miles south of Madras, where the Dutch had a factory from 1660 to 1781.

Trincombar. Tranquebar, also in Tanjore District, 12 miles north of Negapatam. It was given to the Danes by the Nayak of Tanjore in 1618 and they established a factory there.

There is no evidence, either in the *Papers* or in the *Madras Records* to show if the 8th Article were complied with, but as Cockcroft is not mentioned again in the *Madras Diary* and as Scattergood reappears at Fort St. George in 1712, it seems probable that the condition was observed.

Witnesses. Francis Seaton. Captain Francis Seaton, who in February 1692/3 married Hannah Mackrith (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*) was at this time under sentence of deportation from India, being suspected of having "given information about the great diamond." On 4 September (para. 135) and 14 October 1711 (para. 107) the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Company that, on giving adequate security, they had allowed him to go to Bengal to settle his affairs before sailing for England.

Francis Delton. No other mention of this individual has been found.

Rawson Hart. The *Papers* show that Scattergood had business relations with this man up to 1723.

Samuel Jones. This man's name appears only twice in the *Papers*, each time as a witness. He died at Fort St. George on 5 February 1712/13 (*Madras Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 35).

John Jones is perhaps identical with the Captain John Jones, who commanded the *Ann* (in which Scattergood was interested) in her voyages to China in 1714 and 1717, or with the John Jones, who married Margery, daughter of George Croke at Fort St. George in October 1710 (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*).

Abel Langelier, who arrived in India in 1707, was at this date a Junior Merchant "under the Paymaster" (*Madras Diary and Consultations*, 1711). He married Elizabeth Berners on 27 February 1713/14 (Mrs. Penny, *op. cit.*) and died at Fort St. George 26 June 1714 (*Madras Eccles. Records*, I, 41).

Among the *Papers* are various invoices of goods shipped aboard the *Bussorah Merchant* for China. Thus we find one dated 17 May 1711 for "three pair of fine large pearl" consigned to Scattergood and Jones by John Meverell, "Land Customer" at Fort St. David. They had been bought "by the judgment of Mr. Edward Fleetwood," and "being very grate rareties," were not to be sold "under 25 or 30 per cent profit." The pearls were valued at 700 pagodas and were "on the proper account and risque of John Meverell and Mary Fleetwood," widow of Edward Fleetwood, who died at Fort St. George 16 February 1711 (*Madras Eccles. Records*, I, 31).

Next there is an invoice, dated 21 May 1711, of 26 chests of "treasure" containing "pillar dollars," Spanish silver coins bearing a figure of the Pillars of Hercules, weighing 87,865 oz. 17 dwt. 13 gr., for "account and risq of the freighters" and a receipt for the same by Captain John Cockcroft, dated the following day, the eve of the departure of the ship. This is followed by a receipt signed by Edward Jones to Scattergood for 750 pagodas "which sume he is concerned in my subscription of 5750 pagodas to the freight on ship *Bussora Merchant*, Captain John Cockcroft Commander, bound to Canton in China."

Lastly, there is a memorandum, also dated 22 May, of 12 pagodas "After charges" on account the freighters of the *Bussorah Merchant*. These included payment for "Boathire for treasure, gunroom crew and conicopelys," i.e., fees to native clerks, *kanakka pillai*.

Apart from the business connected with the *Bussorah Merchant* in 1711, Scattergood had family matters which occupied his attention. He acted for his wife's young sister, Sarah Burniston, whose trustees were the minister and churchwardens of St. Mary's, Fort St. George. In May 1711 Scattergood paid over to them 267 pagodas, Sarah's dividend of a palanquin and a house at Bombay, sold by her brother-in-law, William Aislabie. Of his own domestic affairs after his return to Persia, there is the baptism in June 1709, and the burial in October following, of his elder son and the birth in 1710 of his second daughter, Carolina. His second son, who also died in infancy, was born in September 1711.

Now occurs a further puzzle. It appears certain that the *Bussorah Merchant* (or *Elizabeth*) under Cockcroft, with Edward Jones on board, sailed for Canton on 23 May 1711 and it

seems natural that Scattergood, the second supercargo, should have also sailed in her. But among the *Papers* there are two documents, dated in Madras 4 July and 4 September, which imply that he was still at Fort St. George. The first is the copy of a letter in his own hand to John Russell (President of Bengal 1711-1713) and Charles Boone, with regard to money received of Mr. Foulkes with whom Scattergood had been associated in Persia (see p. 38 and note on p. 67). As Scattergood remarks that he has referred the matter to John Legg "Notray Publick," he must have been at Madras at the time he wrote the letter. The second document is a respondentia bond for 103 pagodas invested by Scattergood in the *Good Fortune*, signed by Abraham Bennett, master of the vessel. The *Good Fortune* was then bound on a trading voyage to Pegu and it is possible that the investment may have been conducted for Scattergood by his agents. But no record of any ship sailing from Madras for China in 1711 later than the *Elizabeth* (*alias* the *Bussorah Merchant*) in May of that year has been found, and as the *Papers* show Scattergood to have been in Canton in November, it seems pretty certain that he did accompany Jones. An explanation of the difficulty of reconciling the dates may perhaps be that we should read 4 Jany. instead of 4 July.

The following accounts give some idea of Scattergood's activities in Canton.

[8. JOHN SCATTERGOOD'S RECEIPT FOR GOLD, 30 NOVEMBER 1711.]

Received of Edward Jones eight barrs of gold said to poiz tales seventy seven six mace six candrines marked as per mergent and five peices of black gelongs which I promies to deliver to Mr. Robert Jones in Madrass, the danger of the Seas &ca. excepted haveing signed to two receipts of this tennor and date, one being accomplished the other void.

Witness my hand in Canton November the 30th 1711.

J. SCATTERGOOD.

[Endorsed]

My receipt of 8 bars of Pardri : Jones gold.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 8.]

Poiz. Weighing, an abbreviation of avoirdupois, used in the seventeenth century for weight generally.

Tales, mace, candrines. The tale (*tael*, *tâhil*, *tâil*), used for currency and weight in China, about $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. avoirdupois. In 1637 Mundy found "16 Tayes" to contain "20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces nearest hand" (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, III, 310). Mace (*mâs*, *mâsha*) a tenth of a tale. Candarine (*Malay konduri*, Dutch *condorin*), a tenth of a mace. See Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 309 f.n. ; *ante*, vol. XXVI, 314, etc., XXVII, 33, etc.

Black gelongs. The *O. E. D.* gives this term as obsolete, rare, and has only one example of its use, from the *Merchant's Warehouse* of 1696, where it is described as an Indian silk having "a few flowers up and down in it." Lockyer, however, *Trade in India*, 1771, p. 122, includes gelongs among goods procurable at Tonquin and Canton and says the material was a kind of silk crape, used by European officers for neckcloths and by the natives of India for turbans.

Robert Jones. One of the Company's chaplains at Fort St. George. He did not receive the goods consigned to him, as he died of dysentery on 12 November 1711 (*Diary and Consultations at Fort St. George*, 1711).

[9. EDWARD JONES'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT REGARDING SCATTERGOOD'S COMMISSION
ON THE CHINA STOCK 6 DECEMBER 1711.]

This acknowledges that Mr. John Scattergood has received no commission one the sixty thousand Pagodas worth of silver laden by Messrs. Thomas Frederick and Charles Boone on the *Bussora Merchant*, Capt. John Cockcroft, bound to Canton, and was consigned to the said John Scattergood and Edward Jones. I do hereby promies to use the same maines to

recover it, as I shall the owners stock which remains in Anquas and Leanquas hands, and in case I do recover it to lade it on board the *Howland*, Capt. Cooke, with theres.

Witness my hand in Canton December the Eighth 1711.

EDWARD JONES.

[Endorsed]

Mr. Edwd. Jones. Acknowledgment that I Recd. noe commission for our stock to China.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 9.]

Sixty thousand pagodas worth of silver. That is, the value of the 26 chests of silver mentioned above (see p. 68).

Anqua and Leanqua. A firm of Chinese brokers and merchants in Canton with whom Scattergood did much business in his later voyages. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 101, says of them : "I look upon Leanqua as a very honest man, and so are Anqua and Pinqua for Chinese."

The *Howland*, a company's ship, commanded by Captain George Cooke, was at Achin in April 1712 and at Malacca in October. There Captain Cooke died (*Diary and Cons. at Fort St. George, 1712*). Jones's intention to make use of the *Howland* seems to imply that he did not sail from China in the *Bussorah Merchant* (or *Elizabeth*).

[10. ACCOUNT OF GOODS BOUGHT IN CANTON, 1711.]

5 Chests qt. [containing] tea Bohee
 4 Tubs qt. Do. green
 2 Chests qt. silks
 1 Do. qt. China clock work
 15 Tubs qt. quicksilver and virmillion
 2 Baskets of hams
 5 Do. of Bohee tea
 2 large Tubs of 2 large jarrs
 1 basket qt. hams marked E.T.
 1 Tub sugar candy
 6 Do. of soy
 2 Chests of cloths
 1 Escretore large with draws

Account of goods bought of Quiqua alias Codgee in Canton, *vizt.*

	T.
China clockwork 17 pieces	45. - - -
Taffaties 2 pieces white	8. - - -
Do. workt in black	13. - - -
Do. 1 piece yellow embroider'd	14. - - -
White satten 1 piece	5. 2. -
Gold 10 pieces 98½ touch pz. 97T. 6M. -Ca. 5 Cash at 96 for 93 sisee silver ..	1053. 9. 8.

Paid 1 bag pz. 720T. 2M. 9 Pillar 1 per cent	1139. 1. 8.	
	7 : 2 : 1 ..	727. 5. -

Paid Mr. Gibbons for his Account	411. 6. 8.
	63. 5. -
	348. 1. 8.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 10.]

China clock work. Of this import Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 128, says : "Clock-work is in several forms as junks, men, women, horses, deer, and the like ; which I know not the value of in England."

E.T. These initials stand for Elihu Trenchfield, Scattergood's step-brother, also a free merchant trading in India.

Soy. A Chinese sauce. For its composition see below. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 128, says that it "comes in tubs from Jappon", but is also "made and sold very cheap in China."

Quiqua alias Codgee. Also spelt Quinqua alias Cudgeon, Cudden, a Canton merchant with whom Scattergood had business dealings up to 1720.

Taffaties. See p. 54, note on Document No. 3 (b).

Gold . . . $98\frac{1}{2}$ touch . . . at 96 for 93 sisee. $98\frac{1}{2}$ touch, i.e., $98\frac{1}{2}$ parts pure metal and $1\frac{1}{2}$ parts alloy, making in the whole 100. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I, 67. Pz. is a further abbreviation of poiz, weighing (see p. 69). For tale, mace, canderine, see p. 69. Cash, *kâsu*, *kârsha*, the lowest denomination in Chinese currency, a tenth of a canderine or 1000 to the tale. See vol. XXVIII, 32. Sisee silver, sycee (Cantonese *sai-sz ngan*), fine silk silver, of a high fixed value on account of its purity. See Mundy, *op. cit.*, p. 309 n. 6; Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

Piller, i.e., Pillar dollars.

Mr. Gibbons. Two individuals of this name are mentioned in the *Papers*, Capt. H. E. Gibbons who was a trustee for the affairs of John Burniston, Scattergood's father-in-law, and Mr. — Gibbons, mate of the *Bonita* in 1721. It is probably the former who is intended here.

There are among the *Papers* about a score of small accounts of goods bought and sold by Scattergood and Jones while in Canton in November and December 1711. The purchases included gold, quicksilver, vermillion, ivory and bamboo fans, cow bezoar, Chinese jars, teapots, a "Hogshaw pot," i.e., a pot from Fuh-chau, the capital of Fuh-kien (written as pronounced), soy, sugar candy, silks and satins (plain and embroidered), ribbons and sewing silk. The goods were obtained from the Chinese merchants mentioned above and from Pinkee Winkee alias Chonqua, Laulee, Comshaw, Tuckseen and a goldsmith called Buqua.

The cargo sold consisted of pearls, silver in bullion and dollars and amber beads, and the accounts show that, besides acting for the freighters and making purchases for themselves, the supercargoes carried out sales and obtained returns in Chinese products for private individuals, European and Indian. The extracts which follow give some idea of their activities.

[11a]

LAUS DEO IN CANTON NOVEMBER 1711.

MR. EDWARD JONES.

Dr.		Cr.
To cash lent oz. 424 : 2 is tale	.. 350.	2. 1. By cash lent me 20
To Do.	.. 69. 6.	Ryalls 8 .. 14. 4. -.
To ballance Madrass account	.. 48. 2.	-. By rupees 33 .. 11. -. -.
To $\frac{1}{2}$ a present made Monsr. Hebert junior, <i>vizt.</i>		1. By 8 ryalls is oz. 421.13 is tales .. 348. 1. 8.
green tea 2 peculls	24. -.	By dollars made
10 ps. damasks @ 5.5	55. -.	over to Mr. Ster-
2 ps. taffitys	8. 6.	ling 17 .. 12. 2. 4.
12 pairs stockings	13. 2.	By 5 ps. birds eyes. 15. -. -.
24 fanns at $2\frac{1}{2}$ n.	6. -.	By cash paid .. 69. 6. -.
Custome paid on do.	11. -.	By 9 gallons of white wine .. 7. 8. 3.
his half of ea. is	.. 117. 8. 0.	By 4 mos. wages pd. 4. 6. 4.
		the washerman ..

To ballance house expences	90. 3. 4.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ of wine sold 70 dollars his half is 35 makes tales ..	25. 2. -.
		By 6 pairs stockings	6. 6. -.
	617. 2. 6.	By the alloy and working the gold cup and plate ..	4. - 4.
To ballance paid	52. 9. 7.	By cash received of the owners ..	151. 5. -.
	670. 2. 3.		670. 2. 3.

[11b]

LAUS DEO CANTON OCTOBER 1711.

Mr. Edward Jones Dr.	Per contra	Cr.
	Pa. fa. ca.	
To 2 pieces gold neckcloths ea. 5 ps. @ 25 fa. pr. neck	6. 34. -.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ charges provisions and liquors. 45. 4. 40.
To money lost at cards	7. - -.	By ballance in pagodas .. 41. 22. 40.
		86. 27. -.
		Ditto Cr. dollars.
To $\frac{1}{2}$ charges of provisions and liquors for our voyage	71. 29. -.	By lost at cards 20
To a piece longcloth for table linnen his half	1. - -.	By Mr. Sterling transferring 17
	86. 27. -.	—37 26. 6. 4.

Ditto Dr.

To ballance last Account 41.22.40 at 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. cwt. Dollars per 10 pa. is oz.	59. 2. 0.	By $\frac{1}{2}$ a gold cup & plate 8. 5. 5
		18. 3. 0. 5
		By $\frac{1}{2}$ Do. working &c
		By Rs. 33 is Tale ..
		By 5 pieces silk ..
		By 3 doz. white wine omitted charging.
		By washerman $\frac{1}{2}$ wages ..
		4. - 4.
		11. - -.
		15. - -.
		7. 8. 3.
		4. 6. 4.

[11c]

CANTON 1711.

Inqua Dr.	Per contra	Cr.
	Ta. m. c.	T. m.
To Cash paid him Tales .. 203. 6. 3.	By Stockings 4 pair at per pair 1. 8.	7. 2. -.
	By Do. 4 pair at 1. 4.	.. 5. 6. -.
To Cash paid him 87. 7. 8. 71. 3. 2.	By Do. 12 pair at 8. 5	10. 2. -.
	2 pieces Taffaties yellow ..	8. 6. -.
274. 9. 5.	10 pieces Lutestring at 5. 3. per pair [? ps.] ..	53. - -.
	3 pieces Taffata ..	13. 5. -.

12 pieces Damask at 5. 5. per piece..	66.	-.	-.
Ribon 26 pieces each a 100 covitts at			
1 Can. 8 Ca. per Covitt	46.	8.	-.
Do. 24 pieces at 1. 5.	36.	-.	-.
Do. 4 pieces at 1. 2.	4.	8.	-.
Laceing 5 Catty 5 Tales at 3T. per			
catty	15.	9.	4.
Sowing silk 2 catty	4.	-.	-.
Thread 3 catty	3.	-.	-.
	274.	6.	4.

[11d]

LAUS DEO CANTON 1711

Buqua Goldsmith	Dr.	Per contra	Cr.
	Ta. m. ca.		
To Cash paid him in Silver.	50. -.-	By a small chest 2 large	
To Do.	10. -.-	boxes and four small	
To Do.	30. -.-	ones of silver pz. oz.	
To delivered $\frac{1}{2}$ a shoo of		89.15 dwt. is Tales	74. 1. 2.
gold pz.		Looking glass ..	14. 9. 6.
To Gold remains in his			
hand	1. -.-		
		89. 0. 8.	
		at 40 p ct. working is	35. 6. 3.
No. 2—To Dollars 74.16.19.	oz.dwt.gr.		124. 7. 1.
is Tale	61. 8. 1.	a Cane with a silver head ..	1. 2. -.
	152. 8. 1.	a small bell	- 2. -.
		3 Tortellshell canes	- 5. -.
		19½ Catty of white copper Covers ..	23. 4. -.
		2 Gold boxes and 3 heads for canes	
		working	2. 8. -.
			152. 8. 1.

[11e]

Mrs. Cooke	Dr.	T. M. C.	Per contra	Cr.	T. M. C.
To a piece of yellow Taffity..	4. 4. -.	By 50 oz. Silver is Tales	41. 2. 8.	
To working Do.	14. -.-				
To 1 piece painted Pelong ..	2. 5. -.				
To 1 piece Do.	2. -.-				
To 1 piece white broad Ribon	1. 8. -.				
To 1 piece black Do.	1. 8. -.				
To 1 piece black Narrow ..	1. 4. -.				
To 12 catty potts of Tea at					
4 m. Per pott ..	4. 8. -.				
To 12 fanns at 5 ..	6. -.-				
		38. 7. -.			
To Custome paid in China		2. 5. 8.			
&c. charges ..	41. 2. 8.				

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 11a.]

Monsr. Hebert junior. Probably the son of M. Hebert of Pondicherry, with whom Scattergood had business relations in 1712-13,

Mr. Sterling. William Sterling, later supercargo of the *Cambridge* and *Prosperous*. Scattergood's correspondence with him lasted until 1722.

5 ps. birds eyes. Silk marked with birds' eyes, i.e., spotted.

Gold cup and plate. There is no indication for whom this was intended. It may have been ordered by the freighters, but the next account shows that its cost was divided between Scattergood and Jones.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT No. 11b.]

Gold neckcloths. Neckcloths embroidered with gold thread.

Money lost at cards. There are other similar entries. On one occasion Scattergood lost 65 dollars.

Shoo of gold. Gold ingots of a determined weight were known as shoos (shoes) of gold. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 132, has an interesting note on these ingots: "Gold-makers (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the gold that comes thro' their hands into Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, or 12 oz. 3 dwt. 4 gr. of an equal fineness, as one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private mark is stampt in the sides, and a piece of printed paper pasted to the middle of them, by which every one's make is known, as our cutlers and other mecha-nicks do in their trades. Both ends of the Shoos are alike, and bigger than in the middle, with thin brims rising above the rest, whence the upper side somewhat resembles a boat; from the middle which in cooling sinks into a small pit, arise circles one within another, like the rings in the balls of a man's fingers, but bigger; the smaller and closer these are the finer the gold is."

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11c.]

Inqua. Anqua. See note on p. 70.

Taffaties. See note on p. 71.

Lutestring. A glossy silk fabric. The *O.E.D.* gives this form as "apparently from lustering."

Damask. To be saleable, Lockyer (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says damasks should be "of brisk, lively colours, without speck, decay or other damage, and of flowers in no wise resembling European figures."

Covitts. Port. *covado*, coved, a cubit.

Laceing. Ornamental braid for men's clothes.

Catty. *Kati*, 16 tales, or about 1 lb. 5 oz. av.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11d.]

"Working." It is interesting to find that 40 per cent. on the cost of the silver boxes etc was charged for labour.

White copper. Tutenague (Portuguese *tutenaga*), spelter.

[NOTES ON DOCUMENT 11e.]

Mrs. Cooke. Probably the wife of Captain George Cooke of the *Howland* (see p. 70).

Painted pelong. Pelongs, like gelongs, were a variety of silk. Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 122, says that Tonquin pelongs were the finest, "but those made at Canton are longer and broader . . . guilt paper-flower'd silks make a fine show till they are worn in the wet or damp'd with sweat."

The entry "12 catty potts of Tea" seems fully to confirm Crawfurd's suggestion as to the origin of our word 'caddy.' See *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. 1903), p. 130, s.v. Caddy.

There are, among the recipes included in the *Papers*, four which seem to belong to this period and were probably acquired by Scattergood during his visit to Canton in 1711. The first is "To hatch Eggs with fire" (No. 12), a method new to him, but known to the Chinese from time immemorial. The particulars were most likely furnished by the "duckmen" with whom he dealt. The next two recipes are for the manufacture of the sauce known as Soy and also for "Missoy," obviously Mock-soy (No. 13a and b). These are followed by notes of the cost of hatching ducks and of the ingredients for the sauce (No. 13c). The fourth recipe describes the method of curing sea-slugs which Scattergood designates "Hysom" (No. 14).

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